The Nasik Double Number.

Single Copy: Six pence.
Annual Subscription: Five shillings.
Strictly in advance.

THE TALVAR

Chazion men bu rahegi jab talak iman ki.
Tab to London tak chalegi tegh Hindusthan ki.

AN ORGAN OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

Vol. I. | BERLIN, 20th, January 1910. | No. 3.

AN APPEAL: As the enemy has prohibited the circulation of this paper in Hindusthan, every reader is earnestly requested to help in its circulation as much as he possibly can. All remittances and communications to be sent to Madame B. R. CAMA, Poste Restante, Bureau de Poste, Rue Montaigne, PARIS, who has kindly consented to receive orders and payments on our behalf.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN WAR-CLOUD
England's Peril.
Hindusthan's Opportunity.

The Need of a Wider Outlook.

It is no longer possible for any people, great or small, to indulge in dreams, however pleasant, of remaining in philosophic detachment or splendid insolation from the general turmoil of world-politics. For the more we consider the amazing expansion of aggressiveness among the Christian nations of Europe during the last fifty years, the more we are convinced that the nation, whether independent or subject, that fails to take this pious Christian factor into account, is doomed to become or to remain the victim of other nations. The boundaries of European states having been settled, more or less, by twelve hundred years of war and bloodshed, and territorial expansion in Europe being well-nigh impossible, the greed of European nations has turned their attention to the appropriation of lands in Asia and Africa. For Africa we heave one deep-drawn sigh of sorrow -- she must, we fear, succumb for some time at least, to the ravenous appetites of the carriers of Christian civilization. But Asia, whose immortality evinces itself again after centuries of slumber and serfdom, must immediately realize that the struggle that is now taking place is no longer merely international but increasingly intercontinental. And Hindusthan, who in spite of her present enslavement and the vicissitudes of her chequered political life, has retained for thirty centuries the intellectual and spiritual hegemony among the peoples of Asia — Hindusthan we say, owes it as a duty to herself, to Asia and to the world, to destroy with no uncertain hand the business of spoliation and devastation that she has shamefully permitted the greatest robber nation of Europe to carry on for over two hundred years.

But our politicians have hitherto been guilty of a complacent parochialism and provincialism in their outlook. They have totally ignored the important outside forces that may accelerate or retard the fruition of our plans and the realization of our aims and ambitions. They have hoped to build up the Indian nation as a free and self-governing entity, without regard to the vast extra-mural work rendered necessary and opportunities rendered possible by international jealousies and rivalries. They have either posed as moderate men seeking the generous gift of liberty from their alien masters — as though liberty can be a gift or bloodsuckers can be generous — or if they are Nationalists they have failed to watch the rise and fall of the British barometer, or to observe how low the mercury stands today and how much lower it will stand in the very near future. They have exaggerated the strength of England because they have under-rated the strength of the world's hatred of England. They have not kept abreast of the astrology of the British Empire, and they have consequently failed to note that England's star having reached its zenith a few years ago is now visibly on the wane; and that she presents today the magnificent and to us encouraging spectacle of a gigantic empire tottering to its fall.

But we in Europe, removed from the immediate vicinity of the whirlpool of revolutionary activity in Hindusthan, are able to hear and see and judge things from a less provincial and more comprehensive standpoint. And so urgent do we consider it in the light of our knowledge, for Hindusthan to push forward with all possible haste and vigour the work of preparation and organization for the great struggle that we think it necessary to lay before our countrymen a number of facts that will bring them additional hope and encouragement and that will open their eyes to the weakness of our tyrants, to the impending disasters that, in the judgement of all competent men await England, and above all to the glorious opportunity that now exists to make use of all these favourable circumstances to shatter the hated fetters that bind us and to place upon the brow of Hindusthan the lotus-crown of victory and independence.

England's Dilemma.

We do not think it a wise policy to under-rate the strength of our enemies, nor do we believe that it is an easy task to compass the destruction of the British empire And for us who as the children of enslaved Hindusthan are pledged to the destruction of that empire, there is a great temptation to allow our opinion of England's weakness to be dictated either by animosity or by optimism. But on the other hand, we do not think it wise to ignore obvious sociological facts which prove England's moral and intellectual decline, or obvious political facts which show the great and irresistible danger to which her empire is now exposed. And if we critically examine the position in which she stands today, we shall not find the task before us quite so difficult as it may at times appear to be. For, without doubt, England is seated most uncomfortably upon the horns of a dilemma; and by taking advantage of that dilemma, we shall prove our fitness to be statesman-like emancipators of our nation.

Now, the dangers that threaten England may be divided into two

categories: — (1) the dangers within the empire which are very serious and point to internal desintegration; and (2) the dangers that threaten from without, which are of the first magnitude and render the world-position of England highly problematical. And this is the first time in her history when external dangers that threaten her national existence have arisen concurrently with a grave and serious decline in her internal solidarity. The result is awaited by all thinking men with mingled feelings of joy and apprehension — joy that England's hated empire will be shattered; apprehension that Germany's still more hated world-dominion may begin. We have no sympathy with Germany's policy of expansion, for we know that that expansion must inevitably lead to human subjection and human misery — perhaps on a scale hitherto unknown even in the annals of England's brutal imperialism. And it may even be that we in Hindusthan may have to do the duty of opposing German aggression after we have expelled our English tyrants. But it would be an entire misconseption to imagine, as some do, that Germany's aim is to occupy the Asiatic territories now held by her rival England. It is a misreading of German history to see in her expansion any other motive than the ousting of England from her position of naval supremacy, and of occupying the dizzy eminence of being the most mighty naval and military power in the world. Let us consider briefly the present condition of Germany before we proceed to give the evidence of the coming war between her and England.

The Greatness of Germany.

Modern Germany owes her creation to the succession of brilliant men that have occupied the throne of Prussia, but principally to one great German whose towering personality was the most conspicuous figure of the nineteenth century. From a poor and purely agricultural country she has, in a short space of years, grown to be one of the richest industrial countries in the world. Her shipping, which forty years ago was entirely negligible, has now become second only to that of England. In chemical and agricultural and iron and steel industries she is supreme. Her educational system is the envy and the model of the world. Her universities are the training ground for all the best intellects of all countries. There is no department of knowledge in which Germany has not taken the lead in erudition and research. She has given the world the greatest names in literature, in music and the fine arts, in philosophy, in science, in history, in archæology, in Oriental learning and, in fine, in the study of all the activities of ancient and modern mankind from China to Peru. Her army, needless to state, is the most powerful and most magnificent in the world. Her efficiency, her capacity for organization, the splendid discipline of the nation, their patriotic devotion to the Fatherland, their excellent physique, their compulsory military training, and a highly clever and ambitious Emperor — all these are great assets which no toher nation in Europe possesses. In 1879 all the railway lines were taken over by the State, because, as Bismarck rightly thought, railways should be truly national, not only for the defence of the country but for the industrial prosperity of the Empire. By her remarkable foreign policy the ascendancy of Prussia and important territorial additions were secured. And by the happy conversion of the Zollverein into a political idea, the federal unity of the German peoples has been achieved. All this has been the monumental work of one generation! But the fact that concerns us most is her foreign policy which will in the next decade enable Germany easily to be the first Power in the world.

Her Policy of Blood and Iron.

Now, Germany is in reality an enlarged Prussia; and she now intends the world to be an enlarged Germany. When Bismarck became Prime Minister of Prussia in 1862, he was determined to attain at all costs the ascendancy of Prussia, and to that end he first organized and equipped the army under the direction of the famous generals, Von Moltke and Von Roon. And when it was ready he went to war with Denmark in 1864 and took from her the province of Schleswig-Holstein, which gave to Prussia the fine Baltic harbour of Kiel and the control of both banks of the Elbe, thus enabling the Kiel-Brunsbüttel Canal to be constructed, giving direct communication between the Baltic and the North Sea. This being done, it was necessary to decide whether Austria or Prussia should be supreme in Germany. What follows is of great interest to us in our present struggle for freedom. In 1866, with her well-tried and superior army, Prussia fell upon Austria just when that country was engaged in fighting the liberators of Italy, — and having given her a crushing defeat not only helped Italy but obtained for Prussia the ascendancy in Germany, besides annexing Hanover, Hesse and Nassau. For four years more her workshops were busy preparing for another war. That war was created in 1870 by the falsification of a telegram, and France was humiliated in a way that makes her defeat still rankle ominously in her breast. Germany gained Alsace-Lorraine and 200 million pounds sterling.

Her Diplomacy.

So much for her succesful wars of deliberate aggression. But after war, she required peace for consolidation, and it was absolutely necescary to keep Austria, France, Russia and England engaged elsewhere so as to distract their attention from the would-be storm-centre of Europe. She kept France quiet by egging her on to quarrel with Italy over Tunis and with England over Egypt. She kept Russia quiet by urging her to extend her conquests in the East, hoping thereby to bring her into conflict with Russophobe England over Hindusthan. She kept Austria quiet by pushing her into adventures in the Slav States of South-Eastern Europe, in the hope that she may come into conflict with Russia. She very probably urged Russia to enter upon the disastrious war with Japan, and the cost to Russia in prestige, in finances, in naval and military strength, has been an enormous gain to Germany. So far indeed did this country take advantage of it that she boldly backed Austria in the Balkan Provinces, and Russia had merely to look on helplessly while the Triple Entente between her and France and England became totally ineffectual. Against France she has always pursued the ruthless policy of the "mailed fist." Not long ago she was strong enough to obtain the dismissal of the French Foreign Minister by threatening war. It was at her instance that the Algeciras Conference was held, at which Austria supported Germany, for which friendly act Germany backed her in the recent annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. From beginning to end, her policy has been the Bismarckian policy of "blood and iron", and as Bismarck himself said to Bücher: — "Up to 1866 we pursued a Prussian—German policy. From 1866 to 1870 we pursued a German-European policy. Since then we have pursued a world-policy."

Her Naval Preparations

Now the limits of Germany's expansion in Europe have been reached, and her population has grown to the astounding figure of 70 millions. This is the true driving force of German ambition, and it is aided by the Pan-German sentiment as well as by the personal ambitions of Kaiser Wilhelm II. If Bismarck succeeded in creating the united German Empire and the most magnificently organized army in the world, it has been the dream of Wilhelm II to create the German Navy and enable Germany to realize her ambition of dominating the world by also becoming mistress of the sea. But to become the latter she would have to be strong enough to grapple with England whose naval supremacy is unquestioned in Europe.

So for the last twelve years all the energies of the nation have been devoted to the attainment of naval strength preparatory to naval supremacy. In 1898 the first Navy Bill was introduced into the Reichstag.

A month later the Navy League was started with the Kaiser's brother as patron and all the most important members of the aristocracy as members. It is now a most powerful organization with a membership of over a million. In 1900, nine days after the Boers had declared war against England, the Kaiser exclaimed "Bitter is our need of a Navy". And by his famous Krüger telegram he openly avowed his hostility to England. In the same yeaf Prince Bülow, taking advantage or her disasters in that infamous war, introduced a great Navy Bill, in the preamble of which it was stated that the fleet must be "of such strength that a war against the mightiest Power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of that Power." In 1890 the expenditure on the Navy was only 4½ millions. During Wilhelm II's reign it has been quintupled, and the Naval Estimates recently laid before Reichstag amounted to 22 millions. This country is laying down Dreadnoughts by squadrons and by the

end of this year it is possible that she may have 9 against Englands's 10. By the winter of 1911 she will have 13 of such Dreadnoughts and Super-Dreadnoughts of superior construction against England's 16. Germany has been working on Frederick the Great's maxim that "secrecy is an indispensable virtue in politics as well as in war," and it is really impossible to say how much stronger she may be than she pretends to the world. But this much is well-known — that her dockyards and her workshops are busy with the din of preparation for a great war, and that numberless submarines and torpedo-boats and destroyers have been built and hidden in their ports and rivers. Mines have been made in vast quantities, and will be ruthlessly used in the great naval war that is imminent. The ships are being built not for distant wars but for service in the North Sea. And at Emden long quays have been built and every preparation made for the embarkation of enormous masses of troops. Besides she has far greater resources for construction and armament and docking and repairing than England has.

War against England is certain.

Now these feverish preparations can only point to a deliberate war with England. A thousand quotations could be made from the speeches and writings of responsible men in this country, from the Kaiser downwards, to show how significant are these preparations, how determined Germany is to remove from her path the only rival to her colonial and commercial expansion. The great German historian, Professor Treitsche wrote:

„If our Empire has the courage to follow an independent Colonial policy with determination, a collision of our interests and those of England is unavoidable. It was natural and logical that the new Great Power of Central Europe has to settle affairs with all Great Powers. We have settled our accounts with Austria-Hungary, with France, and with Russia. The last settlement, the settlement with England, will probably be the lengthiest and most difficult".

A year after the Boer war began Von der Goltz wrote in the *Deutsche Rundschau:*

„The material foundations of our power are broad enough to warrant the thought of successful opposition to British supremacy. Germany must meet this war if it comes — and must lose no time in making her preparations."

And on every German warship the toast is drunk every night „to the day" — i. e. the eagerly looked-for day when the German Fleet shall defeat the British Fleet in the North Sea.

England is afraid and unready.

These and many other incontrovertible facts make it impossible for either England or this country to avoid war — England because not only her existence as a first-rate Power but even her existence as a nation is threatened by the expansion of Germany; and Germany because the time has arrived in her national life when her growth outwards and seawards is an imperative necessity dictated by the pressure of a growing and ambitious population. Public men in England have declared their conviction that war is inevitable and they know that the English nation has already lost the opportunity of keeping up the standard required to maintain her naval supremacy. They know that now only the most unusual expenditure of money and the most extraordinary rapidity of construction can enable her to have any chances of success against such a great Power as Germany. While English chauvinists clamour loudly for war, the English people themselves are conscious of the danger but are strangely despondent as to the issue of the war; they are almost resigned to the foregone conclusion of great disasters if not of total defeat. The English army is no match for the German army and its rottenness was quite demonstrated to the world by the South African War. And as regards her Navy, England has merely traded on her past naval history to keep up in the world the belief that she is undisputed mistress of the sea, and that her Navy is invincible. The truth, however, is that this great Navy has not been tested since Nelson won his brilliant victory at Trafalgar in 1805; and the only occasion on which it was employed after that was in the war with America in 1812, in which ship after ship of the British Fleet was defeated and sunk by the despised American boats — events which ed to William Cobbett's famous satire „*The Pride of Britania humbled — or the queen of the ocean unqueened by the American cock-boats*". That war made it very clear, as indeed it has been subsequently made clear on land as well as in naval manouevres, that the English are woefully deficient in gunnery. "The moral effect of these defeats" writes historian, "was indeed very great upon a nation that had won a long succession of victories over the French, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the Spaniards, the Dutch and the Danes, and had therefore begun to look upon their navy as invincible." Russia too had similarly traded on the world's credulity until she was exposed by Japan. And we have no doubt that England's Navy will be subjected to a test which will probably expose another famous fiction.

Her Imperial Weakness.

Apart from the question of the number and efficiency of the ships, however, there is another serious difficulty in the way of England. Germany can concentrate in the North Sea, whereas England's imperial needs make it necessary for her fleet to be scattered. For, as has been observed by an able English writer, "we have but to recall the simple fact that while Germany is concentrated in our own home waters, we never can concentrate there to an equal extent, *exept perhaps for the last effort of a falling Empire.*"

Moreover, as Germany does not depend upon her Navy for her power, she can afford to throw away every one of her ships provided she succeeds in destroying or disabling the greater part of the British fleet. So, even if England wins, her naval power would be so crippled that the maintenance of her Empire would be perilously threatened or become impossible. "If by any chance" says the English writer just quoted, „we lost even one great naval action, our whole national existence and that of the Empire would be imperilled and might be destroyed." And an eminent publicist in this country, Count Reventlow, declared that "*the victory gained by England will prove her ruin.*"

But not ouly would the event of the war be, in any case, disastrous to England, but the economic outlook at home would by very serious for her. The rise of prices would threaten the starvation of the masses, and "might lead to anarchy of which we little dream." On the other hand, even if Germany lost the whole of the war, her position with regard to food is unassailable as she could draw in emergency from the Danubian Provinces by lines of traffic lying in the heart of the Continent.

Then again, to ruin England, it is only necessary for Germany to defeat France on land; and England can render no aid to France, because she has not the army that could be a factor of any value in such a struggle. As for the Colonies, they are not able to defend themselves; and it will be many decades before Canada and Australia can have navies of their own sufficiently powerful to operate strategically in international affairs. The Irish Parliamentary Party, like our own misguided Moderates, will fail to be satisfied in their demand for Home Rule, and the time is not far distant when the true Irish Nationalists will revive a campaign that will require England's serious attention. The Egyptian Nationalists are watching with enormous sympathy and profit the heroism of our own martyrs, and they await a favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke of the same hated tyrants.

The duty of Hindusthan.

Here, then lies our opportunity. Already the voice of Young Hindusthan has proclaimed to the world that England's rule over Hindusthan shall be destroyed whatever the cost may be and whatever sacrifice of life may be needed for that sacred purpose. Arise, therefore, O men and women of Hindusthan. There is no time for delaying our preparations. Let us work strenuously and unselfishly to enable our country to raise the holy standard of national freedom; what a splendid opportunity Providence has given us for achieving our purpose! Within the next three years England will be involved in serious complications in Europe. In 1815 the Prussians assisted England to win Waterloo; but in 1915, the centenary of that famous battle will be celebrated by the Prussians by crippling the might of our tyrants. We shall be fools, unworthy of freedom, if we fail to take advantage of the opportunity. Remember that

"There is a tide in the affairs
of men,
Which taken at the flood leads
on to fortune."

That tide has now begun to flow. And if we but do our duty to our

beloved Hindusthan, we shall easily succeed in planting our banner of independence upon the Himalayas, and in celebrating the diamond jubilee of our glorious failure of '57 by taking an honoured and respected place among the nations of the world.

Swadeshi and boycott.

If in reviewing the history of the "year of grace 1909", we have reason to be cheered and encouraged by the achievements of the Nationalist Party in the field of martyrdom and the destructive side of construction we have equal reason to be satisfied with the more peaceful but equally constructive activities displayed in the development of swadeshism and in the economic boycott and political ostracism of the British nation. All parts of the country have shown progress in these respects, but it is especially gratifying to note that Madras, hitherto regarded as the most servile, the most sluggish, the least progressive, the least turbulent of the Indian provinces, has aimed a greater blow at the prosperity of Lancashire than the provinces that initiated the movement of Indian emancipation.

We trust that in the present year our countrymen will work with ceaseless vigour and unmerciful restlessness to complete the destruction of British exploitation of our land. But we would remind them that though all forms of Nationalist activity are essential at the present day, they are in reality subordinate and subservient to the main purpose of our independence: and though such measures as boycott may contribute largely to the increase of our national strength and the enhancement of our national pride, they are not of any efficacy in themselves unless the nation is supplied with the physical means necessary for the attainment of Swaraj. For however succesful we may be in the boycott of British goods or of our noble British rulers, we shall be crushed like flies by a handful of well-armed and well-disciplined troops, unless we ourselves adopt the means and methods of physical destruction; and no consideration of our moral courage or intellectual strength or past glory or religious greatness on the one hand, or of English civilisation or humanity on the other, will save us from the destructive brutality of the blood-thirsty tyrants and robbers of the West.

Legal Studies.

We learn with pleasure that nearly six thousand civil disputes have been settled by arbitration in Bengal during the last twelve months-which means that the courts of „justice" maintained by the tyrants for the furtherance of their own ends have to that extent been weakened, while a large amount of money has been saved to the people. We trust that one result of the employment of arbitration by the people of Hindusthan will be a decline in the number of Indian „barristers". For the time has indeed arrived when the vast sums of money expended by our countrymen in the strenuous idleness of „legal studies" in England should be devoted to the very necessary study of bomb-making, gun-making, and other kindred subjects of vital importance to our country. There is no lack of opportunity for us in various countries of the world, and it is important for our countrymen to understand at once that England will teach them absolutely nothing that may be of use to them whatever. We earnestly hope that they will cease to waste their time and Hindusthan's money on useless and unproductive pursuits in England, and that they will proceed to study in those countries where Hindusthanis are received with open arms to learn all that is needed to strengthen and prepare our people for the expulsion of the foreign tyrant. We shall be very glad indeed to place our services at the disposal of those enquirers who may wish to follow our advice.

Young Ireland.

When we consider the history of Ireland during the last forty years, we cannot but feel that the people of that country have blundered in allowing the important movement of Fenianism to be crushed (or, shall we say, merely inoperative) instead of pushing it on with the vigour that emancipators of a nation should display. But the spirit of the Fenian still smoulders in various parts of the country, and it is to be hoped that men like Major Mc. Bride will organise Irish Nationalism on the lines now being adopted by the Indian Nationalists. Major Mc. Bride, our readers may be aware is the famous Irish patriot who organised the Irish Brigade which fought against the English in the South African War. Never were the people of Kilkenny so happy or so contented, said he recently, as when they were pouring lead into the English enemy; and he has expressed the hope that the next time they were engaged at that kind of work it would be in Ireland. He presided a short time ago at a demonstration held to celebrate the forty-second anniversary of the Manchester Martyrs, and he delivered a most stirring address to the people of Kilkenny in which, among other splendidly virile and patriotic sentiments, he said:

"The voice of Young India is beginning to make itself heard and felt. Not much longer can that fair and fertile land be used as a dumping ground for ignorant, insolent, and domineering English officials. From this meeting Young Ireland sends a message of hope and greeting to Young India, and trusts that the men of that country will never rest satisfied until India is a self-governing nation."

On behalf of Young India we wish to say to Young Ireland that a heavy responsibility lies upon the present generation in both countries to spare no sacrifice of energy and money and life to make our common enemy pay the crimson price of centuries of aggressive villainy, so that we may establish our national independence and be free to take our proper place among the self-governing nations of the world.

A Splendid Harvest.

When a man rises up and makes a heroic self-sacrifice for the liberty of his country or his nation, the world recognises in him an instrument of the Divine mandate for the progress of mankind; and posterity at any rate, encircles the hero's brows with the halo of sanctity. For patriotism and country and nation are not mere empty expressions of frothy sentimentalism, but are the most real, inspiring, and stimulating motives of human action. Thus it is that a man of education and culture does, by the giving up of his life for his country, produce an enormous effect upon the minds and activities of his countrymen, by touching them in the most vital part of their existence. This truth has recently been illustrated by the noble act of Deshbhakt Dhingra. If Caxton Hall revealed the filthy disease of moral cowardice produced in our countrymen by foreign rule, it has since become manifest that his martyrdom has more than generated the counter-balancing virtues of hope and courage in our young men; and, thanks to him, there has been a very large addition of promising young men of good birth and culture to the ranks of the workers for the forcible liberation of Hindusthan. It is with the deepest gratification that we are able to announce that a valuable proportion of these new additions are members of the great religious community that has hitherto been branded with the stigma of disloyalty to the land of their birth. The Muslims have the martial traditions of their cultural ancessors, and they are not slow to learn the lessons of martyrdom of Madan Lal; for they at least cannot be accused of possessing the squeamish and delicate stomachs of some of our Hindu politicians. It is to be hoped that as more and more Muslims are joining the Nationalist Party, there will arise a Dhingra among them to give the lie to the blackguardly assertion that the children of Hindusthan are not united in their love of the Mother, and that they will never work and fight side by side for the sacred cause of Her independence.

THE MARTYR OF NASIK.

> "I believe that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race I attacked by surprise: since guns were denied to me I drew forth my pistol and fired."
>
> MADAN LAL DHINGRA.

The Traditions of Nasik.

A centre that has rallied round itself the spiritual aspirations of a spiritual people who flock thither every twelfth year in their millions

to breathe the air of that Panchavati instinct with the memories of Raghunandan, a temple wherein the exalted prince of Ayodhya revealed the real mission of his Incarnation against the tyrant of Lanka and planned the campaign that was destined to be the theme of an epic, a cave in which Ramdas practised his austere penance for twelve years and more and saw the vision of a Hindu-Pada Padshahi and handed it over to the Mahrattas who were destined to make their word heard in Bangalore, Arcot, and Rameswaram in the south, and Delhi, Lahore, and Attock in the north — the city of Nasik would have been false to her traditions and title as a Dharmakshetra if she had failed o send forth a Dharmavira at the presentcrisis of our national existence. Both Shri Ram and Shri Ramdas, the great Master and the great Disciple, have stored up their Tapas-tej in that holy place and it is without much surprise that we learn to-day that Nasik has claimed the honour of being the first city in India to *succesfully* strike down an alien foe.

The Hunger of Kali.

The Rana of Udaipur, overwhelmed by the defeat and disgrace of the Hindu race, invoked the tutelary deity of Chitore and implored Her to show him how he could prevent the downfall of his nation. It is said in the Rajput annals that the Goddess Kali appeared to him in a dream and shrieked ominously, "Main bhuki hun!". — Hungry am I and blood I want! Even so, ever since the martyrdom of Chaphekar and Ranade, Kali the Terrible has been shrieking aloud in all directions of Hind, "Main bhuki hun! Main bhuki hun!" Jackson is the first victim that the War-Goddess has claimed, and Kanare the martyr-devotee who purchased it at the cost of his own life.

The Inertia of the mind.

But, as might have been expected, people are sharply divided into two furious factions, each of them claiming the honour of martyrdom for its own hero. If words are arguments, this controversy can never be decided at all. We must go beyond words and investigate their origin. Because, whenever society approaches a time when, if it wants to live and grow, a fundamental change of structure and a re-melting and a re-moulding of its substance become an inevitable necessity, then, the laws that contributed to its solidarity and strength in the past are the very impediments to its remoulding and recasting. Words that were looked upon as pious because they strengthened the structure of the past now cease to be binding as the pressing need of the moment is to put an end to the old and worn-out order of things. When these upheavals and re-formations and revolutions are in progress, the normal laws and conventions of social order break down under the abnormal stress of events. In such periods words change their old significance and the new ideas therefore require an entirely different nomenclature. But, though the old order changes and the new order in its victorious march rushes the work of centuries in a few days, still the slow and halting mind clings to old associations and forms and gets dazed and deceived. It has been taught to hate assassination, because assassination corrodes the very basis on which society can be founded. Under the normal conditions of society, the form, the meaning, and the word correspond to one another so automatically that the mind is no longer under the painful necessity of analysing each deed till it gets to its essence, and thus learns to associate its hate more with the form than with the meaning. But when an upheaval of the established order occurs, and forms change their meaning and words cease to correspond with their old ideas, the mind through its conservative and retaining tendency hates what it ought to love and loves what it ought to hate — simply by the similarity of forms and confusion of words. If anything, whatever be its essence, is called a rebellion — the mind directs its antipathies against the action quite automatically. If anyone is killed in some such form as assassinations assume, the mind directs its sympathies for the victim though it might be that he had forfeited his life by crimes ten times worse than assassination. But reason loses not its balance nor gets deceived by a name or a form. It asks why it is that the word "Assassination" is held hateful. The functions of Justice were taken out of the hands of the individual wronged and relegated to the society to which the individual belongs, for that arrangement was calculated to produce the greatest good of the whole society and its parts. Anyone who takes the life or the property of others on his own account or to satisfy his own vengeance or greed is to be condemned; for his act would not conduce to this ethical and judicial ideal of the greatest good of Humanity. This, then, is the test that Reason wants to apply before it condemns or approves. That action is moral or justified which, if followed by all under similar conditions and motives, conduces to the greatest good of Humanity as a whole whatever be the word you apply to it, whatever the form it assumes.

Who is the Assassin and Who the Assassinated?

Whose is the action, then, which, if imitated by all under exactly similar circumstances and motives, is likely to elevate Humanity, to sustain Justice, and to promote Godliness in man? Mr. Jackson and Deshbhaktà Kanare are both claimed by their respective schools of thought as martyrs to their cause. What was the cause for which Jackson is said to have died a martyr? To sustain and sanction the British occupation of India, when it is as clear as daylight that no country, and especially not England, can conquer and rule autocratically another nation with a distinct and highly developed civilisation of its own, in the interests of the latter. India is crushed under the British heel, but Jackson added his might to tighten the bonds. India has openly proclaimed its intention to create a revolution but Jackson brushed it aside as a 'toy revolution'! The members of a robbing party are jointly and severally responsible for the crime committed, and yet Jackson undertook the responsibility of facilitating the 'organised robbery in India' which, student of history as he was, he knew or ought to have known, was destined to be punished by a people — proud, living, and growing, a people who thrashed back the Huns and the Greeks while Europe succumbed to them without a blow. If Jackson had asked any man, from any quarter of the world, except an Englishman, he would have learnt, if he did not already know, that to help the British tyranny in India in whatever shape or form, was nefarious and inhuman. Jackson must have studied the fundamental maxim of politics, which every English schoolboy knows by heart, that taxation without representation is tyrannical, and that for denying to the people the administering of their own affairs the capital punishment of their own king Charles I was justified; but he did not stop a moment to see whether even one man out of the three hundred millons of souls was represented for the raising by taxation of billions on billions of rupees for the last hundred years and more! This is the cause to which Jackson has fallen a victim. Does this action of his, if imitated by others with similar motives and under similar circumstances conduce to the good of humanity? And if not, has he not fallen a victim to the very cup of poison which he was busy admidistering to others? Is he the assassin or the assassinated?

The Punishment: both corrective and prohibitive.

Apart from this fundamental question of helping an unjust and unjustifiable tyranny of one nation over another, did he at least content himself by tempering it with mercy or the ordinary charity of the human mind? A poor cartman was beaten to death by one of the Anglo-Indian autocrats; and Jackson acquitted the murderer who was his friend and countryman, in spite of the most incontrovertible evidence against the accused. Did he stop to think what the wife and children of the poor and helpless dead would feel? Is this his action likely to promote humanity in the world? Is not this double murder, though the form be different and the name a "judicial decision?" Again, Jackson had transported for life a patriot and hero who had renounced everything near and dear to him and devoted his life to the cause of the Mother and of God. The aim and end of penal laws is either corrective or prohibitive or both. The severe punishment that was inflicted on the saintly character of our Deshbhakd G. D. Savarkar, must, in the ordinary course, end in prohibiting others to try for the liberty of their nation, even by an appeal to the sword, and in teaching them to acquiesce in servility and treachery. Is this, we ask, the aim of justice and jurisprudence? — to punish a man who is guilty of loving his country and humanity more than his life and his property? In the vulgar parlance of obtuse-minded people, it might be said that in

giving the punishment, Jackson was serving the master which was the de facto government of the land. But in ethics, there is nothing like government de facto; a government is either de jure or ceases to be so at all. Jackson ought to have resigned his service if he was not brave enough to admire the saint and acquit him whom he had the good fortune to try. If Jackson was innocent because he was administering the law of man, the patriot was ten times more innocent for he was administering the law of God! The monstrous punishment that the patriot got was inhuman as to both the ends of penal laws-the corrective and the prohibitive. But the punishment that Jackson got serves both the ends admirably well; it prohibits, by eradicating the tyrannical tendency of the human mind by striking wholesome terror, and it corrects by encouraging slaves to break their chains at the sight of the noble example of self-sacrifice and martyrdom.

Thus, though the conservative mind, confused by form and words, is likely to think that it was Jackson who was assassinated, reason go ing to the very root of the conception of of assassination finds that Jackson was the assassin and not the assassinated. It was *his* action which, if followed by others, would undermine the very basis of society, would reduce mankind to the level of brutes, and would encourage excessive tyranny on the one hand and excessive subjection on the other and thus demoralise the whole. He was a traitor to his own country though his actions took the form and title of patriotism; he was a misanthrope though he acted as a philanthropic judge of mankind. For he did commit assassinations though he fired not a shot nor unsheathed a dagger Assassinations can as well be committed in the daylight by a penstroke of him who sits on the bench as by the pistolshot that flashes out of the darkness. On the other hand. "I have done my duty" said Anant Luxman Kanare as soon as he had claimed his victim.

The Martyr and his Ideal.

Three questions must arise before the action of this young soul can be applauded as martyrdom, as moral, as a blessing to humaity. Was he striving for the realisaton of an ideal that was noble, pure, and selfless? If so, did the victim he chose te strike down deserve the punishment? And if the ideal was noble and the victim deserved the punishment, were the means and the way in which he sought to accomplish a noble end, equally noble and justifiable in the prevailing environment?

As far as the ideal is concerned, Kanare was an Abhinava Bharat and his ideal was a free and liberated India. His Guru who revealed to him this noble vision was monstrously oppressed and one of his poor countrymen was done to death by the overbearing alien foe. These are the general and particular reasons why he deemed it his 'duty' to lay down his humble life for his country's cause, and even the most rabid English papers have not denied that he acted from an unselfish and patriotic motive. As far as the victim is concerned, we have shown that he had forfeteid his life, more than once. So only the third question of the means used and the way taken remains to be discussed.

The Ethics of the Method.

To kill an enemy in war by open challenge or by covert surprise is deemed equally justifiable; and as a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a state of perpetual warfare, there is no need of any notice of the beginning of hostilities and warfare. As soon as a robbing party, through the force of their dagger, occupy and hold a house in subjection, the owner of the house is absolved from any necessity of losing any chance, covert or overt, to smite down the agressors. The consciousness of their own guilt is a sufficient notice of a state of war to the perpetrators of a crime. And if at all a notice was required to declare a war against England, India has made it sufficiently clear during the last three years that she means to turn away her face from the enervating, unmanly, and barren policy of the Congress camp and wishes to continue the war which her sons began in 1857 for her independence and honour. Had not Jackson heard of the Manictolla people? Had he not heard of the martyrs Khudiram and Prafulla? Why, he, on his own admission, was cognisant of the Revolutionary organisations in the Deccan generally and in Nasik particulary! The fact that he still continued to be a party in the struggle had done away with any necessity of a special warning. He lived in India at his own risk and invited vengeance by his reckless and immoral partisanship in tyranny. To talk of assassination in the present case is idle and stupid; for assassination is possible in a state of peace, while Kanare's deed was an act in a state of war. So also the plea that he had gone there as a guest; if so, he was a fool to do it, for he ought to have understood that those who were not a party to the invitation had an equal right to come there by paying their ticket without being bound by the laws of hospitality. Assassin that he was, he could have been arrested anywhere and with equal moral justification. Though it is true that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a state of perpetual war, even then had they not disarmed the whole nation and put us on a most inhuman inequality, we would have fought open battles with them as we did when we were armed. But as open challenge is rendered impossible, we attack them by surprise. For surprise is as admissible in warfare as in open battles. This much about the mode of attack. And the same is true as to the weapons used in the attack. If swords are denied, let daggers dash. If guns are prohibited let bombs boom. You deprive us of our strength by taking away our usual weapons — shall we not deprive your unholy scheme of its fulfilment by inventing new ones?

The New Wave.

Therefore, he to whom even his worst enemies dare not attribute a selfish and personal motive, whose young soul is so full of the perfume of the Divine from whom he had but just emerged, who made the struggle of a nation as his own and relinquishing even the desire of seeing that struggle victorious, advanced straight into the jaws of death, he, the Martyr Anant Luxman Kanare, is so far from being an assassin that he is made of the stuff that the deliverers of mankind are made of. Reckless selfishness that sells away one's country to feather one's nest has been the curse of our land. But a new wave is surging up and the reck less selfsacrifice, the uncalculating abandonment of self on the altar of the Mother without stopping to question even the chances of success has already been proved to be the characteristic of our national struggle, to be the virility of our race. Kanare's action stands the ethical test of martydom and virtue; for, if followed under similar circumstances and similar motives, it is bound to contribute to the ultimate and greatest good of Mankind.

Is it too much to expect that our Bengal heroes too — Hem, Barin, Ullas and Upen — will soon be avenged, not by hitting down those judges who condemned them, for they were comparatively less criminal, but by calling to account that man who has just escaped so narrowly from the Mahrattas at Ahmadabad or some other equally inhuman alien foe?

A Stirring Document!

CHOOSE, OH INDIAN PRINCES!

AN OPEN LETTER addressed by

THE ABHINAVA BHARAT

the Revolutionary SOCIETY OF INDIA.

A clear summing up of the attitude of the Indian Nationalists towards the Princes of Hindusthan.

PRICE:

IN ENGLAND . . . . . 6d.
IN FRANCE . . . . . 50c.
IN INDIA . . . . . 4as.

APPLY TO:

Madame B. R. CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, PARIS.